COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS
Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe
Nov. 9–12, 2018
Shanghai University, China

Edited by Chen Hao

Szeged, 2019
This publication was financially supported by the MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group.
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Changes of Ethnonyms in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Glossaries from the Yuan to the Qing Era*

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The Sino-Mongolian bilingual glossaries are important sources for the history of Inner-Asian languages as well as for the Mongolian and the Chinese language themselves. An interesting layer of the lexicon recorded in these compilations is the vocabulary denoting ethnonyms. Belonging to a special division of linguistic data these names give invaluable information on the history of the ever changing political situation of the steppe area from the Yuan to the Qing era.

Some ethnonyms seem to have evolved long before the emergence of a similarly named people known from historical records, some survived long after the time when the peoples in question had disappeared as political entities, while other ethnonyms shifted from one ethnic group to another. In this paper I attempt to give an overview of the ethnonyms appearing in the most important bilingual Sino-Mongol glossaries on both the Chinese and the Mongolian side:

* An extended version of this paper will be published in Göttinger Bibliotheksschriften by the Universitätsverlag Göttingen in 2020.

3 Cf. Apatóczky 2009: 1–4
5 The only extant versions left are in the WBZh (as its second Sino-Mongolian glossary—WBZh/2, marking its source as a no longer extant work called jimen fang yu kao 軍門防範考 of which not much more is known) and in Pozdneev 1908. Cf. also Rykin 2016 pp. 149–151, 2018: 318–319 and Shimunek 2013–2014: 100–104.
Yibu (LLSL; 譯部上 and 譯部下 chapters of the Lulong sai lüe 窄龍塞略 1610). With the analysis of their change over roughly half a millennium we may get a better understanding of how ethnonyms had their own lives that differed from that of the actual peoples denoted by these names.

Čaqán Malaga[j] ‘white hat (i.e. Muslim)’

This ethnonym is rarely found in the Sino-Mongol bilingual works, the WBZh/2 entry is the only known original occurrence, which was copied to the LLSL, too:

WBZh/2 huí zi chā-hàn mà-lā-yǎ 回子 訳 時馬喇啞 Ch. ‘Muslim’, Mong. Čaqán Malaga[j] ‘Muslim (lit. white hat)’

LLSL 1.7b5 yì yuē ài/yì-hán mà-lā-yǎ 一曰 時 騙喇啞 (expansion of the previous entry - 回回 ‘Sartawul’; read chá instead of ài/yì)


The fact that this term is very rare and not present in other Old and Middle Mongolian sources might reflect its specificity to the dialect(s) of the glossary preserved in the WBZh/2 text.

Jaqudai ‘Northern Chinese (personal name)’

This personal name is composed of an ethnonym + a masculine suffix -DAi. Its sole source in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is Zyyy.

Zyyy 65 hàn er xiāng-hù-dái 漢兒 相忽歹 Ch. hàn er ‘Chinese (male person)’ (in the Naikaku/Japanese xylograph, read zhā 采 instead of xiāng 相), Mong. Jaqudai ‘Northern Chinese’


Jürčet etc. ‘Jürchen’

The name of the famous ethnic group, members of which were the founders of the Jìn (金) Dynasty (1115–1234) is widely recorded in the Sino-Mongol glossaries.

7 For the LLSL, headword characters taken into account in the reconstruction are set in bold face (along with their respective transcriptions), whereas explanatory parts are left in regular type face. When no explanatory part is found all characters are in regular type face.
Jürčet

In the Hy a very precise transcription is found supplemented with a diacritic 「t」 character denoting a final -t.

Hy 3:20b1 zhü-ér-chê-t 每 'Jürchen - all', indicating clearly that the function of the plural marker was clear for the compiler.

Jürci

The different versions of BLYY list this name in two places, once as an ethnonym and once as the equivalent of a Chinese toponym. The first mention only occurs in the By text, and as it is also copied, although corrupted, to the BLYY, it gives a direct proof of the source of the LLSL.

BLYY/By 183 rüzhí zhü-ér-chî Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. Jürči 'id.'

BLYY 77 háixî zhü-ér-chî Ch. 'Haixi (lit. West of the Sea; toponym), Mong. Jürči 'Jürchen'

LLSL 1.7b8 rũ zhí ye zhû-yî-chî Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. Jürči 'id.'

Jüsidei (also a personal name)

Another variant of Jürchen is preserved in this personal name with the front harmonic variant of the masculine suffix -DAI.

Zyyy I, O 64 rûzhên zhû-shî-dái Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. Jüsidei (also a personal name)


Kitat etc. '(Northern) Chinese people'

Although the ethnonym goes back to the Khitans of the Liao dynasty, in the sources discussed here the name always refers to the Chinese.

Kitat

In the Hy we find two different renderings of the name:

Hy 451 Kitat[t] hân rên qî-tâ 漢人 乞塔 Ch. 'Chinese', Mong. Kitat[t]

Hy 2:03a1 Kitat qî-tâ-t 乞塔 glossed as Hân rên 漢人 'Chinese'.

The BLYY data repeats the first Hy occurrence:

BLYY 185 hân rên qî-tâ 漢人 乞塔 Ch. 'Chinese people'

The Yibu chapter of the Lulongsai lüe copies the assumed original version of Hy 451 in which the diacritic character is present, although losing its distinctive visual features and written in normal size along with a few explanatory words:
LLSL 1.7b10 **hán rén** dòng yì yuē qi-tá-ti 漢人東夷曰乞塔惕 Ch. 'Han people are called Kitat by the Eastern Barbarians', hence Mong. Kitat 'Han people'.

**Kitan**

In the LLSL this other form is also listed from an unknown source:
LLSL 1.7b11 **béi lü** yuē qi-tán 北曰契丹 (expansion of the previous entry)
Ch. 'the Northern caitiffs call them Khitan', Mong. Kitan 'Chinese'.

SH Kitat/Kitad 'Jürchen'; Hy Kitat/Kitad, AT Kitad, UighM qitat, WMong. Kitad '(Northern) Chinese'

*Majartai* 'Hungarian (personal name)'

This personal name follows the above mentioned pattern and consists of an ethnonym + masculine suffix -Dai. What gives it yet additional importance is that this name was also born by a key historical figure of the Yuan dynasty, himself the Chief compiler of the *Liaoshi*:


The traditional view is that the ethnonym Magyar is a compound of *magy* (ethnonym < *MancA; cf. the ethnonym Mansi; and eventually < Indo-European *manu-s 'human being') + appellative noun *'er 'man' (cf. EWUng: 923–924). Róna-Tas on onomastic grounds argued that the second syllable *'Er is the ethnonym of a (not attested) Finno-Ugric group' (Róna-Tas 1993: 20–21) rather than meaning 'man'.

*Mongqol* etc. 'Mongol'

This ethnonym has a literature of the size of a library itself, therefore a detailed analysis will not be presented here, and only the attested occurrences will be listed. For a relatively recent and concise overview on this ethnonym cf. Rykin 2014: (especially 252–257).

*Mongqol*

The Hy contains a "normal" Middle Mongol variant, with the already mentioned accurate transcription containing a diacritic «T» character for the final -l.

Hy 452 dádá mãng-huo-l 迪達忙豁 Ch. 'Tartar', Mong. Mongqol 'Mongol'

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10 Cf. also Ligeti 1979: 80 and Rybatzki 2006: 584.
Monggol

This variant is found in three different places in the BLYY and it was also copied into the LLSL:

BLYY 182 dádá màng-guān-ér 騝靼 蒙古人 Ch. ‘Tartar’, Mong. Monggol ‘Mongol’
BLYY 70 yì di màng-guān-ér gá-zhá-lá 畢地 蒙古人鳴扎剌 Ch. ‘land of the barbarians’, Mong. Monggol gajar(a) ‘Mongol territories’ (-a maybe locative cf. BLYY 43. gajar)

LLSL 1.6a24 fan yì di yuè màng-guān-er ge-zhá-la 几夷地曰莽古人鳴爪剌 (read gá 賭 instead of gé 葛) Ch. ‘whereas the land of the barbarians is called’, Mong. see above

BLYY 76 (only in the By version) běilü yé-kè màng-guān-ér 北虞野克莽古人 Ch. ‘Toponym (lit. ‘[the territory of the] northern slaves’), Mong. yeke Monggol ‘Great Mongol’

LLSL 1.6a25 lű di yuè yé-ke màng-guān-er 虎地曰野克莽古人 Ch. ‘(toponym) lit.: northern slaves’, Mong. see above

Monggol[li]dai (also a personal name)
The usual ethnonym + masculine suffix -Dai pattern is found in Zyyy:

Zyyy I, O 62 dádá méng-gū-dái 騝靼 蒙古岱 Ch. ‘Tatar’, Mong. Monggol[li]dai ‘Mongol’ (also a personal name)


Nanggias etc. ‘The Southern Chinese’

Nanggias

The generic term for the Southern Chinese Nanggias («Chin. nan jia 南家 ‘Southern family, southern people’; Cf. Rybatzki 2006: 638: “Chin. nan-chia ‘Süd-Chinesen (~ Sung-Dynastie; zuerst von den Jurchen gebrauchte Bezeichnung’)’ is present in Hy without Chinese glossing:


Nanggiyadai (also a personal name)
The form which became a surname is a regular formation with -Dai and although the characters are misplaced and difficult to read their reading\textsuperscript{11} by Ligeti–Kara (1990: 263) is probable:

Zyyy 66 (mánzī jia-nang?-dái) 番子 家...夕 Ch. ‘The Southern Chinese’, Mong. Nanggiyadai ‘id. (also a personal name)’

\textsuperscript{11} Also supported by the analogy of Monggol[li]dai.

**Ongliu[t]** ‘The Ongniyud/Ongni’ud tribe’

The Taining-guard was one of the three “Uriyangkhan” guards during the Ming. “The Ming put two surrendered princes (Mongolian ong from Chinese wang) from the line of Chinggis Khan’s brothers over the Taining Guard; its people were called the Ongni’ud (“the ones with ongs/princes”).” Atwood 2004:535

Their name was included in the BLYY and then copied into the LLSL vocabulary.

BLYY 71 taining wèi wàng-liú 泰寧衛 往流 Ch. ‘Taining wei (toponym, one of the Uriyangkhan territories at Šira mūren)’ Mong. Ongliu[t]

LLSL 1.6a18 tai ning wei yuè wáng-liú 泰寧衛曰往流 Ch., Mong. see above

AT Ongliyud, Khal. Ognuud, WMong. Ongniyud/Ongliyud

**Oyirat** etc. ‘Oirats’

The variants of the Oirat ethnonym are relatively underrepresented in the Sino-Mongol glossaries. In the Hy it is glossed in Chinese only as “—fltA^n” ‘a kind of personal name’, showing that by the time of their mention the political significance of Oirats was not at its climax. It does not mean, of course, that the Mongolian name would have meant a personal name only.

**Oyirat**

Hy 3:11b wò-yi-rat 幣亦剌 Ch. ‘Oirat (personal name)’, Mong. Oyirat

**Oyr[d]**

By the time of the compilation of the LLSL this situation had changed as is shown by one of the very few original headwords (only 9 out of the 1400+ headwords) of the LLSL (cf. Apatóczky 2016b: 30f15 and 33):

LLSL 1.7b3 bei chéng shù yí yuè wò-yún-ér 北稱屬曰我旬兒 Ch. ‘in the North barbarians are called Oyr[d] ‘subordinate barbarians’ Mong. Oyr[d] ‘the Oirats’

About the stormy history of the etymology attempts of this famous ethnonym cf. Kempf 2010. He gives a by and large plausible etymology with a reconstructed original form *oygiran* (Kempf 2010: 192).

SH Oyirat, AT Oyirad
Öjö[d] 'The Öjiyed/Üjiyed tribe'

The only Sino-Mongol glossary that mentions this ethnonym is the BLYY and its whole entry was also copied into the LLSL.

BLYY 72 Ch. fúyú-wéi wó-zhe 福餘衛 我著 Ch. 'toponym, name of a territory in today’s Heilongjiang province (which after the sixteenth century became a part of Khorchin land). The Fuyu-guard (one of the three "Uriyangkhan" guards during the Ming). Modern Qiqihar.' Mong. Öjö[d] 'The Öjiyed tribe'

LLSL 1.6a19 fúyú wei yuè wó-zhe 福餘衛曰我著 Ch., Mong. see above

Sarta’ul etc. ‘Muslim; Uighur; collective ethnonym and toponym for Khwarezm; merchant (city-dweller)’

Sarta’ul

The Sarta’ul etc. ethnonym has a long record in Inner-Asian sources, and it made its way into the major Sino-Mongol glossaries, too. A "standard" form is found in the Hy:

Hy 454 huíhuí sá-er-tá-wén OH MleLíírÖ. Chin. ‘Muslim (land) etc.’, Mong. Sarta’ul ‘id.’

Sartawul

Unlike in the Hy the BLYY variant shows the presence of the intervocalic -w-:

BLYY 181 huíhuí sá-ér-táo-wú-ér 同同 撒兒討兀兒 Ch. ‘Muslim (land) etc.’, Mong. Sartawul ‘id.’

The BLYY entry was copied into the LLSL, but it is difficult to establish if the different rendering in the LLSL is the result of textual corruption, or whether on the contrary it is an emended form, or whether it represents an original form that the extant BLYY versions ceased to have.

LLSL 1.7b4 tong chéng huí-hui yuè sá-er-tá-wu-le 通稱同 Nome撒兒塔兀勒 Ch. ‘Muslims are generally called Sartawul’, Mong. Sartawul ‘Muslim (land) etc.’

Sartaqčin

Another occurrence in the Hy features the ethnonym with the feminine suffix -Qčin added, glossed in Chinese as 圆圆妃 ‘Muslims’.

Hy 2:24b2 sá-er-tá-q-čén 撒兒塔妃 Mong. Sartaqčin ‘id.’

Sarda[q]dai (also a personal name)

The form in the Zyy takes a personal name consisting of the ethnonym and the masculine suffix -Dai.

Zyy I, O 63 huíhuí sá-li-dā-dái 回回 撒里答歹 Ch. ‘Muslim’ Mong. Sarda[q]dai ‘id. (also a personal name)’


Solongga ‘Korea’

The name of Korea in Mongolian, according to Vovin, goes back to the Old Korean name of the Silla Kingdom, and especially a variant written as 슬로 sol (Vovin 2013: 203), from which the Mongolian form would have formed by an assimilation of the first syllable vowel to that of the second syllable. The Middle Mongol data of the BLYY (also copied into the LLSL) shows an already assimilated form. What makes it still rarer among Middle Mongol occurrences is that here we read a singular form, just like in the Altan Tobci and in the Sino-Jürchen vocabulary:

BLYY 184 gäoli suö-lóng-ge 高麗 瑣麗革 Ch. ‘Korea’ Mong. Solongga ‘id.’
LLSL 1.7b9 gäoi li yuè suö-long-ge 高麗曰箜麗革 Ch., Mong. see above


Qara Töböt ‘The territory of Tibet bordering China’

The only occurrence of this ethnonym in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is in the Hy, and even that lacks a Chinese glossing.

Hy 3:01a4 há-ra tuö-bó-t 哈拉碉寶特 Mong. Qara Töböt ‘toponym’

Probably the first Western author who wrote about this ethnonym was Klaproth in his Asia polyglotta (1823: 345): “Die Chinesen nennen Tübet gewöhnlich Si-zan, und den zunächst an China gränzenden Theil U-Si-Zan oder das schwarze Si-zan, es stimmt diese Benennung mit der Mongolischen Chara-Tübet, Schwarz Tübet, überein.”

Pelliot adds that “The Mongolian author of Jigs-med nam-mkha (1819) says that Chinggis subdued the nations of five colours (…) the black [were the] Tibetans” (Pelliot 1963: no 230.; cf. also Bano 2001: 263 Kara-Tibet ‘Ladakh’).

Nugteren and Roos mention that Mannerheim during his visit to the Yugurs in 1907 noticed that the Chinese call Tangutans (i.e. Tibetans) Hei fanzi 黑番子 ‘Black barbarians’ in opposition to Huang fanzi 黃番子 ‘Yellow barbarians; the Yellow
Yugurs’, and it seems that other travellers’ accounts agree in the sense that the black colour in the exonym refers to Tibetans, and serves as a means of distinguishing two similarly named ethnic groups (Nugteren – Roos 2003: 134).

Uriangqan etc. ‘the Uriyangkhan people’

Uriangqan

The earliest mention of this ethnonym is in the meticulous transcription of the Hy and glossed in Chinese as “一種人名” ‘a kind of personal name’.

Hy 3:05a wû-riang-qan Mong. (also a personal name)

Uriang[y]an

By the time of the compilation of BLYY the name gained more prominence and was given a specific administrative meaning.

BLYY 73 duöyán wéi wü-liáng-án Ch. ‘the territory of the Döyin-guard (the real Uriyangkhan, one of the three “Uriyangkhan” guards during the Ming); toponym’ Mong. Uriang[y]an ‘id.’

The entry was copied to the LLSL in its entirety:

LLSL 1.6a20 duó yan wei yüe wű-liáng-an Ch., Mong. see above

SH Uriangqadai (masc.)/ Uriangqajin (fem.), AT Uriyangqai, W Mong. Uriyangqai

Yeke Min[y]an ‘the Great Mingans; i.e. the Manchurian Öölöts or Mannai Öölöt (Ööld)’

The only Sino-Mongol glossary that contains this ethnonym is the BLYY.


Üçüken Min[y]an ‘the Little Mingans’

Just as in the case of the previous name, this one is also only found in the BLYY.

BLYY 75 xiáo yì qián wû-chû-zhi min-án 小壹千 五出指民案 Ch. ‘toponym (verbatim from Mong.).’ (read kên 捲 instead of zhi 指).
Conclusion

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the presence of various ethnonyms in the glossaries is determined by geographical closeness (exceptions due to historical reasons do exist, however).

When there were no corresponding ethnonyms in Chinese the compilers used either the Chinese toponyms or verbatim translations and sometimes transcriptions.

Variants of the latter type are rarely used (e.g. no Menggu 'Mongol' or the like) and are limited to smaller groups without established Chinese names or are older loans.

This does not mean that the less known but, in the cited works, frequently mentioned ethnonyms would not have made their way into Chinese nomenclature (like Oyirat; Uriangqan etc.).

Most of the -Dai suffixed names in Hy and Zyyy could also be used for both personal names and ethnonyms.

There seem to exist no traces of the old Mongolian caste system of 1. Mongols; 2. Semus (i.e., roughly put, non-Mongol and non-Chinese Central Asians); 3. Han people; 4. Southern Chinese. Although forms like Nanggias do correspond to this scheme, this system of social and political differentiation and segregation had long been left behind.

Sigla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Altan Tobči (according to Vietze – Lubsang 1992).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLYY</td>
<td>The Yiyu/Beilu yiyu 語種/北疆語/of the Dengtan bijiu 登達必究 (BLYY-By; FUL; HAS) 1599 (according to Apatőczky 2009).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Chinese headword; Chinese.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hy</td>
<td>Hua-Yi yiyu 華夷譯語 () 1389; 1407 (According to Kuribayashi 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>Khalkha (Kara 1998; Lessing 1960 etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLSL</td>
<td>The Yi bu 譯部 (上 and 下 chapters) of the Lulongsai lüe 盧龍塞略 1610 (according to Apatőczky 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWUng</td>
<td>Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>The Rasüid Hexaglot (according to Golden 2000).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mong.  reconstructed Mongolian word; Mongolian.
RY  Ruzhen yiyu (according to Kane 1989).
SH  The Secret History of the Mongols (according to de Rachewiltz 2004).
UighM Uighur of Ming (according to Ligeti 1966).
WMong.  Written Mongolian (according to Lessing 1960 etc.)

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